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WHEN the political machine is at a stand, and ceases to communicate that life and vigour to society, which its motion was calculated to supply; and, when this stagnation in the body politick is owing to a suspension of one of its most active and essential powers; the occasion becomes so pressing, and the call so loud and urgent, that it can scarce be termed the duty of a member of the community, to point out the cause of so alarming a symptom. Such, sir, is the present situation of this country; and, such shall be the object of the following letter. But

before I take the inquisitorial chair, I require you to give me your attention, if it be possible, and I shall not break my promise when I assure you, that I do not mean to trisle with you.

Happily for you, the same hand which planted the feeds of your character had time given him to afford them due cul-The parent of your principles did not quit the stage, on which he had himself made so signal a figure, before he had reason to be assured that neither comefinels of perion, chearful temper, nor open carriage, all united, would ever be able to counteract their influence. Bold, yet fuccelsful, was his fystem of education! The improvement of nature he found was above his genius, and ungrateful to his disposition; but, the perversion he knew and felt to be an easy talk. Though an infant himfelf in the language of nature, yet he could make her speak his language; he could make her be filent at his bidding. Mafter of thefe fecrets, which his superior skill and affiduity had made familiar to him, and aided

aided by the docility of the subject he had to work upon; he was enabled in you to reconcile paradoxes, and give harmony to inconsistencies: insomuch, that cowardice cannot brave, nor absurdity bluster, in your hands; nor can falshood bear the semblance of truth, when it is spoken by you.

Having given this testimony to the merit of your preceptor, I will now do the like justice to your own; and, shall candidly acknowledge to you, that, of all the ministers whose actions I have made my observation upon, of whose memoirs I have consulted, your conduct has been the most uniform and confistent. At the board, at council, and in the house, you have always been invariably the fame. So that neither your most credulous, nor your most sceptical friend, reflecting upon the most problematical part of your conduct, could ever speculate a second motive for any action of your publick life. Striking, however, as this and the other qualities are, which mark your political character, I had forgotten the A 4 politician

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politician in the affectionate father and the fond husband, I had at least left him to justice for his recompence, and let his fortune complete the confistency of his principles; had not the condition, to which this nation is reduced by that very confistency, called loudly and irrefistably upon me, to warn my countrymen, that they take example from their superiors, and distinguish, as they do, between the man and the statesman. For, in private life, sir, (and I say it with pleasure) all men either envy or imitate you. In publick life, though too many, I fear, follow your example, yet none can possibly be envious of your reputation.

If the wise, the faithful, and the disinterested Walsingham should present himself to my imagination; and inquire of me, upon what principles, and by what conduct, modern ministers obey their sovereigns and serve their country; a reply would hardly be necessary: my conscious shame would at once confess the degeneracy of the age in which I live.

and the indignant fire that now flashes over my face, like the holy book presented to the conscious murderer. turns the ink with which I am writing into blood, when I attempt to fet down the answer I should make him. But, if I endeavoured to comply with his demand, how should I be able to excite in him trains of ideas which he had never felt, and to lead him through paths, which when alive he never trod? when I told him, that their fole and their inviolable principle was felf, and, that their invariable conduct was, to fell the king to the people, and the people to the king; his honest shade would seem to start at my relation; I should become the ghost to him; that " fpirit of health" would look upon me as " a goblin damned," and liften to my words as " blafts from hell." He would conceive me to be a strayer from the infernal regions, not an observer of the ways of men.

Do not, fir, imagine my idea of a modern minister to be exaggerated, and not strictly founded in reality. And,

And, take care that the hurry of your temper does not betray you to pronounce the fentence he deserves; for there is a whole nation ready to cry out, in one united voice, with the prophet, thou art the man. I well know that persons will be found, who shall tell you, that this is a false and a scandalous libel; and, they may possibly talk away even your own consciousness of the truth of it: but, there is not a man in the kingdom who can be ignorant, nor can you yourself deny, that you have bought a number of the voices of the R-s of the P-e, with those favours which his M-y's confidence has fo long and fo largely intrusted to your disposal; that, you have repeatedly fold those voices again to his ministers, for your own advantage; and, that, you are now quarrelling with those who created you, because they will not come up to the price to which you have thought proper to raise yourself, and because the extravagance of your terms has made it necessary for them to think of changing their agent. I

am not fo fplenetick as to imagine, that every measure of government is fraught with mischief, and that all must be carried by bribery and corruption. Nor, am I simple enough to believe, that they whose sanction is necessary to the operations of government, would always fupport the fairest measures, without being paid for it. But, there are some measures so unfair, and some operations fo unjustifiable, that nothing but extraordinary exertions of influence to gain majorities could possibly bear them through. How far, and how fuccessfully you have dealt in this latter commodity I could prove by numberless instances. witness, the many endeavours to ease the revenues of this Country of the extravagant load of a reproachful pension lift, which your influence has rendered ineffectual. Witness, the loud complaints against the excessive increase of publick expences, which the voices of your merceneries, have always filenced. Witness, the repeated efforts to redeem our legislature from the shackles of the now unnecessary and imprudent law of Poynings, which

which you have conftantly refifted and fuppressed. Witness, the Rasure from the J-s of a certain affembly, on the 4th of March 1766, of a spirited and constitutional V-e of the day before, against the flavish conduct of a former P-t. with respect to the same law. This too, sir, we owe to the plenitude of your power. A power, which enabled you to refuse to correct that V-e, according to truth; and justified a declaration made in defiance of common sense, that the clerk had mistaken, what was published by your direction, and under your inspection. And yet, ever like yourfelf, not on the manly, the just, and the patriotick repeal of that law, but on the wanton and inflammatory violation of it, do you now vainly attempt to found the merit of an opposition. Think you, that we are fools? and, that we do not know you? believe me, fir, there are men in this country, whose penetration is not eafily imposed upon by appearances and pretences. And, believe me also, that they are the men, on whose judgment all the fafe, and all the formiddable opinions of the publick do finally and feriously depend.

Really, fir, when I reflect how great a share the design of making friends for you must have had, in producing the vast additional charges, that have been laid upon this kingdom for fourteen years past,-for, how can one otherwise account for the publick expences of the last two years exceeding that of the two years before you came into power, in a fum scarce short of f. 740,000, of which little less than f. 100,000 is placed to the account of that department, over which you particularly prefide. - When I confider your faith and impartiality in the management and determination of elections; and the zeal and attention with which you have always regarded the commercial interests of the kingdom, and of the city of D---n in particular: when I think of the numbers, whom your favours or your promises have fed, of the table you have kept, and the equipage, with which you have pleas'd the people and supported the

the dignity of your office; and for which your electors have been twice obliged to double your allowance: When I revolve all these things in my mind, it is matter of ferious wonder to me, that no one friend was to be found, whose wisdom and fidelity would fave you from your present humiliating state, and, that there are fo few now, who lament, or feem at all interested in your fall. Even honest laughing C-nr-y was no more! Surely, had he been alive, his mirth, and his affection for you had fuggested some happy jest, some pointed story, which would have placed your situation in its true light. I believe there are few men in I--l-d who have not known; for fome time, that it was a determined purpose of the E-h M-ry to diffolve your party; or, who did not fee into the defign of a continued refidence. Nor was there any body, but yourfelf, who did not foresee, that the last fatal measure you engaged in would certainly deftroy

destroy you; or, who could be ignorant, that it was intended it should. But

Quos Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.

Even diffrost, the statesman's last principle, feems to have forfaken you; when rection of the two men in the world, whom you had the least reason to confide in: to one whose ambitious designs upon your county have already disturbed you; and to another, who has been long known to envy you your chair. In short, sir, you have always been to me an object of curiofity and furprize. I was for a long time amazed, how you could maintain your power; and, I am now aftonished at your losing it, when, as you boast, you had nothing to contend with, but a V-y without policy, a fecretary without experience, tools without credit, and managers without influence.

Submit therefore, my dear, fir, to your fate. It feems to be unavoidable. Accept the best terms you can get. As your actions will not stand the test of publick observation,

vation, if they make you lord P-fid-n you can shelter yourself under the obscuri of the privy C___l. And, if you can obtain the additional happiness of a feat in the upper H-e you may then transmit in fafety whatever B-lls you are ordered. Documents will confound you no more. You will be out of the reach of those troublesome C-s, and their vexatious money B-s, stoly sho of the

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